

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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ACDA-10 STR-04 NEA-10 /137 W

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R 271030Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3204

INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, US, JA

SUBJECT: KOSAKA NEWSWEEK INTERVIEW

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN FONMIN KOSAKA AND NEWSWEEK BUREAU CHIEF BERNIE CRISHER IN TOKYO OCTOBER 20. WE SEND IT BECAUSE INTERVIEW LIKELY TO APPEAR ONLY IN ASIAN EDITION AND NOT IN COMPLETE FORM. INTERVIEW IS WORTHWHILE AS COMPREHENSIVE RUNDOWN OF KOSAKA'S VIEWS AND NOTEWORTHY FOR STRONG STATEMENT ON IMPORTANCE OF US-JAPAN TIES ("EVEN IF YOU EVER WANTED TT BE FREE OF US WE WOULD NOT LET YOU GO").

2. BEGIN INTERVIEW.

KRISHER: AS AN OLD CHINA HAND, WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHINA THESE DAYS, AND WILL IT SPEED UP SIGNING OF THE CHINA-JAPAN NORMALIZATION TREATY?

KOSAKA: THE NEW REGIME IS GRADUALLY BEING STABILIZED,
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WITH THE SO-CALLED NON-LEFTISTS OR MODERATES, TAKING

OVER THE LEADERSHIP FOR THE LONG-RUN. ALTHOUGH OUR RELATIONS HAVE BEEN NORMALIZED, WE HAVE NOT YET CONCLUDED A TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP, THOUGH WE HAVE BEEN MAKING EFFORTS AND WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE PROCEEDING TOWARD THAT GOAL. IT IS MY HOPE, THOUGH NOT MY ANALYSIS, THAT THE PROSPECT FOR CONCLUDING SUCH A TREATY WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY RECENT EVENTS. WHETHER IT'S BETTER FOR JAPAN IS NOT A SUBJECT TO BE SPECULATED ON. LET'S HOPE OUR SINCERITY WILL CARRY ITSELF OVER TO THEIR MINDS. MY FRIENDS IN CHINA ARE ALL IN GOOD SHAPE AND I EXPECT THAT I CAN COMMUNICATE WITH THE CHINESE.

Q: THE REAL PROBLEM SEEMED TO BE OVER THE WORD "HEGEMONY" WHICH YOU DID NOT WANT TO INCLUDE IN THE TREATY WITHOUT MAKING CLEAR IT WAS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANYONE...

A: WE MUST MEET WITH THE CHINESE AND TALK TO THEM ABOUT IT. I ALREADY HAD ONE MEETING AT THE UN LITH FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA BUT THAT WAS IN THE UNITED STATES, AFTER ALL, AND JUST A DAY AFTER HIS ARRIVAL. HE WAS TIGHTLY, HEAVILY SCHEDULED, AND I WAS TO LEAVE NEW YORK THAT DAY. IT WAS JUST A SOCIAL VISIT. WE REALLY DIDN'T HAVE A CHANCE TO TALK VERY MUCH. THERE MUST BE MORE MEETINGS.

Q: LAST WEEK WAS THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE SOVIET UNION. HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THAT RELATIONSHIP TODAY?

A: OUR RELATIONS ARE IMPROVING, BUT EVEN AFTER 20 YEARS THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE REMAINS TO BE SETTLED. AND THAT'S RATHER REGRETFUL. WE ACCEPTED THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY AND GAVE UP THE KURILES, SAKHALIN AND TAIWAN, BUT THE FOUR ISLANDS IN QUESTION ARE NOT PART OF THE KURILES. THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN OUR TERRITORY. WE ARE DEMANDING FOR THE RETURN OF JUST THESE FOUR ISLANDS AND NOTHING MORE. IF ONLY THIS QUESTION IS RESOLVED, OUR RELATIONS WOULD BE QUITE GOOD.

Q: WHAT WILL BE THE LONG-TERM OF THE MIG-25 AFFAIR?
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A: THIS HAS BEEN AN UNHAPPY INCIDENT. ONE OF THE SOVIET ELITE PILOTS VIOLATED OUR TERRITORIAL AIR SPACE. WE FOLLOWED INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PRACTICE AND INVESTIGATED THE CIRCUMSTANCES. THIS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH SOVIET-JAPANESE FRIENDLY RELATIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THE SOVIET PEOPLE ARE NOT HAPPY ABOUT THE INCIDENT BECAUSE ONE OF THEIR CHOSEN ELITE OPTED TO JOIN THE US CAMP. BUT, AS I

POINTED OUT TO MR. GROMYKO IN NEW YORK RECENTLY, WE DIDN'T DEVISE IT, THE JAPANESE PEOPLE DIDN'T DO IT, IT'S ONE OF THEIR OWN CITIZENS WHO CAUSED THE TROUBLE.

Q: HOW WOULD YOU INTERPRET ALL THE SOVIET NAVAL AND AIR FORCE ACTIVITIES IN THE JAPANESE SEAS AND SKIES? AND THE INCREASED SEIZURE ON YOUR FISHING BOATS?

A: THE (AIR/SEA) ACTIVITIES AROUND US HAVE BECOME RATHER CONSPICUOUS, BUT THEY HAVE BEEN DOING IT FOR YEARS. SOVIET AIRCRAFT FLY AROUND JAPAN QUITE REGULARLY. IT'S BECOME QUITE CONSPICUOUS IN THE LAST FEW YEARS. THE CAPTURING OF OUR FISHING BOATS ARE (ALSO) ANNUAL EVENTS, A VERY REGRETTABLE PRACTICE ON THEIR PART. THESE ARE VERY SMALL WORKING FISHERMEN--PROLETARIAT, IF YOU PLEASE--WHO CATCH KELP, COD AND OTHER SHELLFISH TO EARN A MODEST LIVING. IT IS QUITE INCOMPREHENSIBLE THAT THE LEADER OF THE PROLETARIAN WORLD SHOULD SIEZE, THESE HARD-WORKING FISHERMEN. THEY ARE ONLY FISHING IN THE WATERS AROUND THE FOUR ISLANDS WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN RETURNED TO JAPAN A LONG TIME AGO. THEY ARE THE WATERS THEIR ANCESTORS HAVE BEEN FISHING IN FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS.

Q. DO YOU VIEW, AS DID YOUR PREDECESSOR (KIICHI MIYAZAWA), WITH SOME APPREHENSION THE PROSPECT OF A US TREATY WITH CHINA THAT MIGHT LEAVE TAIWAN UNDEFENDED?

A: THE CHINESE ARE A MATURE PEOPLE. THEY TAKE THE LONG VIEW. EVEN IF THE UNITED STATES EVACUATED

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TAIWAN, IT WOULD BE WRONG TO ASSUME THAT IT WOULD CREATE A VACUUM TO BE IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED BY SOME KIND OF MILITARY CLASH. AS A MATTER OF THEIR PRINCIPLE, TAIWAN IS A PART OF CHINA AND THERE IS JUST ONE CHINA. CHINA WILL LOOK AT TAIWAN FROM THE CONTINENT AND THEY WOULD NOT DESTROY ITS VERY PROSPEROUS ECONOMY; THEY WOULD NOT LOSE THEIR HEADS AND START PULLING THE TRIGGER. THEY HAVE MORE PATIENCE AND ARE MORE FAR-SIGHTED.

Q: WOULD YOU BE EQUALLY UNCONCERNED ABOUT A US PULL-OUT FROM KOREA?

A: NO, KOREA IS A DIFFERENT MATTER, IT'S THE POINT WHERE THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN CHINA, THE

SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IS AT A VERY
PRECARIOUS EQUILIBRIUM. SHOULD THAT
EQUILIBRIUM SHAKE, IT WOULD LEAD TO A HOT WAR; BUT
AS LONG AS IT IS KEPT, THIS REGION, THE FAR EAST,
REMAINS SECURE. IT IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THE
SITUATION VIS-A-VIS CHINA AND TAIWAN. THE CHINESE
ARE A MATURE PEOPLE; THE NORTH KOREANS ARE NOT QUITE
SO. IF AMERICAN FORCES WITHDRAW FROM THE PENINSULA
IT COULD CREATE A VERY DANGEROUS VACUUM IN THE EYES
OF THE NORTH KOREANS. I WOULD BE QUITE CONCERNED.
IN THAT SENSE THE PENINSULA'S PEACE IS VITAL TO JAPAN'S
PEACE AND SECURITY.
HODGSON

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3205

INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

Q: WHAT IF ALL KOREA BECAME STABLE UNDER A RED
FLAG?

A: WE DON'T WANT TO SEE IT THAT WAY. YOU SHOULD
KNOW THE SITUATION IN NORTH KOREA IS FAR FROM GOOD.
THEY ARE RIDDLED WITH PROBLEMS--ECONOMICALLY,
POLITICALLY. WITH ONLY A POPULATION OF 17 MILLION,
THEY ARE SUPPORTING A MILITARY FORCE OF TWO MILLION,

A VERY STRONG AIR FORCE, AND YET THEY HAVE NO OIL ON THEIR LAND. THEY CAN'T KEEP ON DOING THIS. THERE WERE SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS IN 1972 WHEN THEY BEGAN SOME CONTACTS WITH SOUTH KOREA AND STARTED NEGOTIATIONS. YET THE SOUTH KOREAN ECONOMY PROSPERED AND THE NORTH, IN ORDER TO CATCH UP, WENT OUT OF THEIR WAY TO IMPORT FOREIGN GOODS WHICH CAUSED THEIR PRESENT ECONOMIC BURDEN. THEIR BEHAVIOR AT THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE CAUSED CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION, BUT I HOPE THEY WILL GRADUALLY MODERATE THEIR POSITION.

Q: HOW DO YOU PERCEIVE THE IMPACT OF THE US
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ELECTION RESULT ON JAPAN?

A: MR. CARTER, WHO HAS LESS EXPERIENCE IN ADMINISTRATION AND FOREIGN POLICY THAN MR. FORD, SOUNDS MORE IDEALISTIC AND THEORETICAL. YET, REGARDLESS OF WHO TAKES OFFICE, I DOUBT WHETHER THE SUBSTANCE OF US POLICY WILL CHANGE. MR. CARTER'S THEORETICAL

POSITION WOULD COME CLOSER TO MR. FORD'S MORE PRAGMATIC ATTITUDE.; THERE ISN'T THAT MUCH LEVERAGE FOR A LEADER IN A DEMOCRACY--HE'S GOT TO LISTEN TO THE OPINIONS OF DIFFERENT PEOPLE AND FORM POLITICS ACCEPTABLE TO A CONSENSUS; YOU JUST CAN'T DO ANYTHING OUT OF THE ORDINARY OR VERY UNIQUE. SO WE ARE NOT WORRIED ABOUT ANY EFFECTS ON JAPAN, REGARDLESS OF WHO WINS. WE HAVE A VERY STRONG BOND WITH THE US. EVEN IF YOU EVER WANTED TO BE FREE OF US, WE WOULD NOT LET YOU GO. THE VERY BASIS OF OUR DIPLOMACY IS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Q: WHAT HAVE BEEN THE EFFECTS OF THE LOCKHEED AFFAIR ON JAPAN?

A: IT WAS AN UNFORTUNATE INCIDENT BUT IT GAVE US CONFIDENCE THAT WE HAVE A SELF-CLEANSING CAPACITY. IT DEMONSTRATED EVERYONE IN JAPAN IS EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW. THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S POPULARITY MAY HAVE PLUMMETED, AND WE MUST BE HUMBLE FOR IT, BUT THE PUBLIC ALSO BECAME AWARE THE OPPOSITION PARTIES OFFERED NO ALTERNATIVE. HAD THEY REACTED MORE REALISTICALLY, THEY COULD EVEN HAVE COME INTO POWER. THEIR BASIC FLAW IS IN FOREIGN POLICY--THEY WANT TO ABROGATE THE US-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY AND THEY CALL FOR UNARMED NEUTRALITY. THAT DOESN'T

MAKE SENSE TO THE MAN ON THE STREET. IF THEY WANT TO BE CRITICS--FINE, BUT AS A POLITICAL PARTY YOU HAVE TO BE MORE THAN THAT: YOU MUST HAVE CONSTRUCTIVE POLICIES.

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Q: AND MR. MIKI'S OWN TENURE? HOW LONG WILL HE CONTINUE TO REMAIN PRIME MINISTER?

A: HE WILL STAY IN THROUGH THE ELECTION. THERE SIMPLY ISN'T ENOUGH TIME. MR. MIKI HASN'T

DONE ANYTHING WRONG.;

I: THE WORLD, THESE DAYS, LOOKS AT JAPAN WITH SOME APPREHENSION. NO ONE CAN PREDICT HOW LONG THE PRESENT PRIME MINISTER WILL STAY IN OFFICE, WHO HIS SUCCESSOR WILL BE, OR EVEN IF THE RULING PARTY WILL EXIST IN ITS PRESENT FORM NEXT YEAR? DO YOU HAVE A CLEARER VIEW?

A: IS JAPAN ANY DIFFERENT FROM ANY OTHER COUNTRY? IT IS A TIME OF UPHEAVAL ALL OVER THE WORLD. THE MORE IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHETHER THESE EVOLUTIONS ARE TO THE ULTIMATE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLE. LOOK AT THE SITUATION IN FRANCE AND ITALY, ARE THE PEOPLE ANY HAPPIER WITH THE COMMUNISTS OR SOCIALISTS? AND THE CASE OF SWEDEN IS QUITE INSTRUCTIVE TO US, TOO. IN THE BEGINNING IT WAS THE CORRUPTION OF THE CONSERVATIVES..THEN THE SOCIALISTS CAME IN, PAID TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO WELFARE UNTIL THE PEOPLE COULDN'T BEAR THE HIGH TAX BURDEN ANY LONGER. YOU JUST CAN'T OVERSTUFF PEOPLE WITH TOO MANY GOOD THINGS--YET, WE ARE MAKING ESFORTS TO HEIGHTEN WELFARE HERE TO HALT ANY FURTHER SWING TO THE LEFT.

Q: DO YOU ENVISAGE THAT THE STRENGTHENING OF THE YEN OR THE JAPANESE EXPORT BOOM COULD ESCALATEQ INTO A SERIOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEM BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE US?

A: NO, I DON'T THINK SO. THE YEN IS FLOATING, AND IT'S NOT A DIRTY FLOAT. THE BANK OF JAPAN DOES INTERVENE TO AN INTERNATIONALLY PERMISSIBLE

EXTENT. . . AS FOR OUR "EXPORT DRIVE"--IN VIEW OF THE RECESSION AT HOME--WE MUST ALWAYS BE
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CAREFUL NOT TO FLOOD THE US MARKET WITH JAPANESE GOODS. THERE ARE SEVERAL WAYS WE COULD ACCOMPLISH THAT: BY STIMULATING GREATER DOMESTIC DEMAND FOR SUCH GOODS AS TV SETS AND AUTOS WHICH WOULD OTHERWISE BE SHIPPED ABROAD AT THAT TIME.

Q: DOES THE THREAT OF ANOTHER OPEC PRICE HIKE CONCERN YOU? WHAT LEVERAGE WOULD JAPAN HAVE TO HALT IT OR WOULD IT PLACE YOU EVEN FURTHER INTO THE ARAB CAMP?

A: EXCEPT FOR JUST ASKING, THERE ISN'T MUCH ELSE WE COULD DO. WE CANNOT BE ANY CLOSER (TO THE ARABS) THAN WE ALREADY ARE.; WE WOULD CONTINUE TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND OTHER TIES, BUT IF THE PRICE OF OIL GOES UP THE OPEC COUNTRIES CERTAINLY MUST REALIZE THIS WOULD INEVITABLY CAUSE A PRICE-UP OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS WHICH WOULD PUT US IN A VICIOUS

CYCLE WITH THE NON-DEVELOPEE COUNTRIES SUFFERING THE MOST. I DO HOPE THE ARAB NATIONS WON'T LOSE SIGHT OF THE GLOBAL PICTURE. END QUOTE.
HODGSON

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